2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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two, or even three or four, branches of the royal house from which the kings were elected in turn. From the genealogy it may be seen that sons of kings have succeeded their fathers but that this is by no means the rule; the succession may pass to brothers, ortho-cousins, or paternal nephew, and in one case a paternal uncle succeeded his brother's son. What is clear is that all recent kings have been descendants of the brothers Akwot (19) and Nyadok (22). Each of these kings had two sons who eventually came to the throne, and all their direct descendants are eligible from the Shilluk point of view. But we could not discover any rule dictating from which of these houses the royal candidates for the throne should be chosen. It is certain that each house would press its claim. There seem very good reasons why the sons of the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth kings have not come to the throne, and apart from Government influence it may be that their lines will have less claim in the future, since Kur, the twenty-seventh king, did not meet his death as a Shilluk king should but was deposed by the Government and died in confinement in the northern Sudan. Fadiet, the twenty-eighth king, succeeded with the approval of the Government, but many of the Shilluk did not recognize him as legitimate during the lifetime of Kur. It must have been quite impossible to carry out the ritual enthronement in the correct spirit while a former king was still living; certainly a son of Kur could not have come to the throne during the lifetime of his father, while as to Fadiet, he was neither popular nor efficient.

Tribute is paid to the king, but his sovereignty is largely exercised through the high-chiefs (*jang duong*) of the great provinces into which the realm is divided. The selection of these officers—who tend to be hereditary—is in the hands of the king, but the approval of the community is sought, and it is probably these chiefs who form the "great council" mentioned by Hofmayr, which is summoned by the king in exceptional cases.[1] Hofmayr also states that the king's messengers are usually relatives of the king. The high-chiefs of the provinces accompany the king on his journeys.

The greatest respect and honour is shown to the king. In the old days he was not allowed to go to battle, and even now he keeps up considerable state and has much authority. Even a royal son addresses the king with face somewhat averted, the left hand hiding the mouth and lower part of the face; this he does sitting at ease,

[1] Op. cit., 151–2.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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643 but others should crouch with head turned over the right shoulder,
644 and perhaps with one hand shading the face. Aker, widow of two kings and one of our best informants, used to delight to mimic the respectful manner in which she would serve the king, presenting food on her knees with head averted, and then move away kneeling to crouch with averted face while the king was eating, her garment being held to her side by her elbow; after the king had eaten she would pour water on his hands, still with averted face.

643 Disputes may be settled by the local or district chiefs, but an appeal
[692] to the king is always possible. District and village chiefs are assisted by the local elders in the administration of justice. The method
[65] of raising the tribute to the king has not been investigated, but examples in the following pages (confirmed by Westermann's account) will show that certain clans owed special duties to the king; indeed, anyone killing a leopard must send its skin to the royal household, while the *gyek* antelope is specially hunted to obtain skins for the king. As the fountain of justice, the king kept for himself by far the greater part
643 of the fines for homicide and other grave offences. The fine for
681 man-killing was usually ten head of cattle, but sometimes more was levied; a girl might be taken in lieu of the cattle, when the king would allow the girl to marry but would keep the bride-wealth; or a girl and boy might be kept as hostages by the king until the cattle were paid. The king might give one or two head of cattle to the family of the deceased as compensation; this, however, did
[628] not always settle the matter, and a blood feud might start and be continued until the balance of dead was even, often not only families but whole villages becoming involved.

● 635 Hofmayr, quoting Father Banholzer, describes the investiture of
577 a high chief of one of the ten main provinces.[1] It is obvious that his functions are regarded as more than merely administrative, and that his correct ethical behaviour is almost the main concern of the old man—one of his future sub-chiefs—who, clasping his feet, recites the duties of his new office. He should let no stranger go hungry, he should use no abusive language, but be just and leave the houses and women of his underlings alone. The new high-chief takes oath to observe these duties, in token of which he licks the blade of a spear, presses it to his forehead, and then waves it over the ox he sacrifices. He remains in seclusion in his hut for four days;

[1] Op. cit., 151. These great district chiefs are known as *Jang Duong*. This is not a technical but rather a courtesy title, lit. "big chief". All chiefs are *ago*.

2:Seligman & Seligman E-5 (1909-1910) 1932
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only after this is he "the chosen of God" (*aronyi Juok*) and fit incumbent of his new office. The first ceremonial duty of the high-chief is to visit the king, who presents him with an ox, more costly presents being made to the high-chiefs of Mwom and Tonga. Every high-chief has his assistant (*tyel kwome*), who exercises authority as occasion requires. The village chiefs are chosen by their communities, and we believe all these offices to be in the main hereditary, though further investigation is here necessary, as it is with regard to the ministerial council, mentioned by Hofmayr, whose members are selected by the king.

Fashoda—not to be confused with Kodok, the Fashoda of international fame—is the royal capital, *fa reth* ("the place of the king"), from which the king has ruled for many decades. Yet it was not always so: Father Banholzer told us that formerly each Shilluk king reigned from and was buried in his native village. Fenikang is the traditional capital of Nyakang and probably of his immediate successors. Perhaps, too, some of the early kings ruled the country from Tatuga (Doleib Hill). Tugo is said to have been the first king to live at Fashoda; whether this is correct or not, Fashoda certainly was not the *fa reth* of all the kings who succeeded him, though Nyadwai and Yur Adodit ruled the country from villages in its neighbourhood. Nyadwai lived and died at Kodok, where in 1909 we were shown the remains of the tree which according to tradition sprang from his grave; actually the association seems to have been that it stood near his dwelling and that he would often sit under it. Malakal and Walajok are also said to have been capitals in their time.

The king and his many wives live at Fashoda (Pl. V, Fig. 1). The king's dwelling when we saw it in 1910 consisted of four huts, no better built than those of his people and lacking the ostrich-egg and spear of the royal shrines. They stood well above the rest of the settlement on an artificial mound, called Aturwic (shown on Pl. VI), which may have been some ten feet high, and was said to have been built by the tenth king, Tugo.

The king observes the same marriage prohibitions as his people, even remote relatives on both sides of the family being forbidden; thus the king and all male descendants of the king must marry commoners, while daughters of the king should not marry at all, though foreign influence is, we believe, slowly modifying the old practice. Mr. Heasty writes that unless the king takes a

3:Westermann E-5 (1910) 1912 FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

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The people go to cut boats, boats for the king; and the people cut them, and bring the boats, all the people come (with the boats), and when they approach the village, the chief is called; the boats are put before him for examination. He looks at them, and seizes some, saying: "Take these boats!" They are taken, then he says: "These belong to the king"; they are hewn (carved), are sewn together, and after that they row them to Fashoda.

29. Provinces of the Shilluk country

635●

beginning from south.

1. *Tlŋ́ŋ́*	2. *Ńŋ́jwŋ́dŋ́*	3. *Dwŋ́*
4. *Dgr*	5. *Ńelbwdk*	6. *Wŋ́ŋ́*
7. *Dyŋ́l*	8. *Fwŋ́lŋ́ŋ́*	9. *Aryf́kŋ́r*
10. *Agwnfwŋ́k*	11. *Ajŋ́gŋ́*	12. *Fŋ́ŋ́ŋ́*
13. *Obŋ́yŋ́bwnfŋ́p*	14. *Obwí-Dŋ́gŋ́*	15. *Aɖifwŋ́*
16. *Fwŋ́dwdŋ́*	17. *Owfŋ́kŋ́*	18. *Twŋ́rŋ́*
19. *Awdu*	20. *Dwr*	21. *Aɖŋ́ɖŋ́*
22. *Dŋ́t*	23. *Aɖfkŋ́ŋ́*	24. *Awbrfwŋ́k*
25. *Kwŋ́gŋ́*	26. *Obwŋ́*	27. *Mŋ́ŋ́kŋ́l*
28. *Fwmŋ́t*	29. *Ogŋ́t*	30. *Wŋ́u*
31. *Fŋ́ŋ́t*	32. *Fŋ́ŋ́u*	33. *Bŋ́t*
34. *Ńŋ́ŋ́ŋ́rŋ́*	35. *Bŋ́l*	36. *Fŋ́bŋ́r*
37. *Bŋ́ŋ́*	38. *Agŋ́ɖŋ́*	39. *Ywŋ́*
40. *Lwl*	41. *Kwŋ́m*	42. *Fwrŋ́ɖŋ́*
43. *Agwŋ́rŋ́*	44. *Ńŋ́gŋ́r*	45. *Gŋ́lŋ́ŋ́ŋ́*
46. *Fŋ́ɖŋ́ŋ́*	47. *Lŋ́mg*	48. *Kŋ́ɖŋ́k*
49. *Gŋ́ŋ́*	50. *Kwŋ́ŋ́ŋ́*	51. *Alŋ́l*
52. *Dŋ́tŋ́k*	53. *Bŋ́rŋ́k*	54. *Mŋ́l*
55. *Abyfŋ́ŋ́*	56. *Ogŋ́n*	57. *Fwŋ́ŋ́ŋ́-Oŋ́gŋ́*
58. *Ńŋ́lyŋ́ŋ́*	59. *Afwŋ́ɖwŋ́*	60. *Twŋ́*
61 *Tɖwŋ́t*	62. *Akŋ́rwwdr*	63. *Abŋ́r*
64. *Mŋ́ŋ́*	65. *Mwŋ́mŋ́.*	

The Clans or Divisions of the Shilluk People.

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The Shilluks are divided into a number of clans or tribes, each of which is traced back to a common ancestor. In most cases this ancestor is a man, but some of the clans claim descendency from an animal.

The following names of the clans and all the remarks added have been procured by *Reverend D. Oyler, of Doleib Hill*, who collected them from an assembly of natives, and had them afterwards examined by some Shilluk men who

121 To begin with, we just need a quick resumé of the historical background, engulfed, as is always the case, in mythological terms, of both components of our subject. Who are the Shilluk, and who were the Funj?

B) The SHILLUK :

131 *The Shilluk now are a negroid tribe* that occupies mainly the west bank of the White Nile from about Kaka to Tonga - a distance of about 380 km, and extends inland from the river to about 30 to 80 km. They also occupy the lower reaches of the Sobat river and a pocket around the town of Malakal on the eastern banks of the White Nile.

141 144 The physical characters of the Shilluk are surely negroid but they are not Negroes. Anthropometric results indicate that they are a tall ethnic group, dolichocephalic and platyrrhine. 8) But within the tribe anthropometrical data also reveals two distinct racial components; the royal family and the common Shilluk, the former being taller and more dolichocephalic. 9) Further, heterogeneity was also detected between the northern part of the Shillukland and the Southern part, with higher statures and higher cephalic index figures in the north. 10)

144 173 This compound heterogeneity has its backing in the Shilluk tradition. The national hero, semi-God, and first king of the Shilluk, Nyikang, led his family on a long march which was divided into two periods of wandering, and gathering adherents and followers from everywhere, and without discrimination, arrived in the present Shilluk land. The stock of wanderers was definitely alien to the peoples who were inhabiting the land, and when we may call aboriginals of the Shilluk land. Nyikang incorporated part of these aboriginals in his new kingdom; the other part probably fled from the country to the nearest area that provided refuge, and this must have been the eastern Nuba Mountains, to the west of the present Shilluk country. It is naturally expected that after such an event -the coming of a new stock, yielding power in their hands- a caste system would be introduced in the country; the newcomers are now the elite of the country. Titles of nobility are held to the fourth generation. 11) Descendants after the fourth generation are also respected.

144 685 The racial differences between north and south within the Shilluk country is backed by the fact that the country is politically divided in two provinces, opposed to each other to the degree

8) Seligman, p.13, and p. 38. Also Rind, pp. 71-76

9) Rind, pp. 71-76

10) Rind, pp. 71-76

11) Seligman, p. 49.

of open war in certain cases of Shilluk history. The country is further divided in two religious provinces corresponding to the political provinces, also opposed to each other in certain crucial times such as the event of electing a new king.

The questions now arise: From where did Nyikang stem, and to which racial and cultural area did he (and the first wanderers of his own family) belong? and when?

The only detectable physical description relating to Nyikang which I was able to find during my fieldwork among the Shilluk was that Nyikang was a man of medium stature, and of a (relatively) fair complexion. Relevant to this point is that the effigy of Nyikang kept at his shrine at Akurwa is relatively shorter than that of Duk, son of Nyikang. If the complexion was really fair, and there is every possibility that this might be so, then Nyikang's original race typology must have at least a primary degree of Hamitic-negro's mixture if they are not pure Hamitic. 18) It follows then that my effort to pursue Nyikang to his original homeland must be directed to either:

a) the Hamitic homeland among the present Nilotic enclave, or

b) the area of possible hybrid on the marginal Hamitic homes, again around this Nilotic enclave.

In other words, the possible home of Nyikang is either to the North or to the East, i.e. Northern Sudan or the Abyssinian plateau, with their marginal areas of race mixture.

From the cultural point of view, there are two possibilities detectable from the Shilluk mythology, though contradictory:

a) Nyikang was born in a place where real kingship was known, with a system of electing kings. The electors seemed to be the chiefs and the officers of the country, and it appeared that there was no hope for any candidate to put his claims into effect by means of force, if this electoral council turned him down. Another evidence of this real kingship is found in the presence of a stool, the symbol of the throne. A stool in those parts of the Sudan was originally a representation of "the prerogative of the great, and often only of the king, and so a sign of authority". 19)

b) The original home of Nyikang represented a nomadic cultural type, because agriculture was not known. The tradition tells that the brother of Nyikang who was elected king, threw a sort of digging stick, used for digging graves, towards Nyikang when he left the country. This meant that Nyikang and his followers would perish. But Nyikang, when he settled in the present Shilluk country, used the stick as an agricultural implement.

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18) It may be also an Arab-Negro mixture, because at that time the Arabs were already on the Bahr el Ghazal borders. My informants told me that Nyikang met the Rezeigat Baggara Arabs in his second period of wandering.

19) Arkell, (A), p. 227.

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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565 644 who served the *Nyireth* in his life upon terms analogous to those under which *Bang Reth* served the *Reth*. After the *Nyireth's* death the [614] *Bang Nyireth* also continued as a fictitious clan. Consequently beside a branch of the *Kwar Reth* are usually found *Bang Nyireth* who are the descendants of the retainers of the *Nyireth* who is the head of that lineage of the *Kwar Reth*.

The *Bang Reth*, whether *Bang Reth* or *Bang Nyireth*, are by [554] origin *Collo*. Yet their status is slightly inferior to that of the "free" *Collo* and they have therefore been treated as a separate element in this note. The inferiority of their status springs from the fact that they do not belong of right to the area in which they live. They are therefore newcomers, and priority of occupation of land is of great importance to the Shilluk.

CHAPTER IV.

Political Divisions and Organisation.

The Provinces of Luak and Ger and the Old Order.

•635 The settlement has already been described as the basic element [522] in the tribal structure. The settlement chiefs, with few exceptions, are appointed by the *Reth* and this has always been the case. Between the *Reth* and the settlement chiefs there were, before Turkish interference, four high chiefs. The country was then divided into two provinces, Luak in the south and Ger in the north, which were alternatively called *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* respectively[26]. The bound-

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173 26. The terms *Gol Nyikang* and *Gol Dhiang* are a bit archaic and are only heard on ceremonial occasions such as the rebuilding of Fashoda. The origin of the name Gol Nyikang is clearly the tradition that the southern half of the kingdom was settled by Nyikang himself, coupled with the fact that it contains his great shrine at Nyilual. As to the origin of "*Gol Dhiang*" (meaning literally the Gol of the Cow) I am indebted to Mr. L. W. Raven for the following:

"On the death of *Reth* Dhokoth the Shilluk did not accept his son Tugo and called back the "queen" Abudok who had previously ruled after the death of Bimo and had resigned to make way for Dhokoth. Tugo had been living at Athokang and now, with all his father's cattle and retainers, moved to the north and first founded a village at Padiang, just south of Kodok. Later he built and gave its name to Fashoda. He was followed by the northern chiefs, who had probably not been consulted in the recall of Abudhok. Abudhok then came to meet him at Fashoda, they were reconciled, and Abudhok again resigned. At that meeting Tugo brought a bull to present to Abdubok, and she slaughtered it and in doing so named the north, that is from the Nyigir boundary, as "*Gol Dhiang*," the *gol* of the bull (just then killed). Later Tugo settled his retainers in what is now Collok, and the chief of them he made responsible for the north and so head of *Gol Dhiang*."

17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
FJ23 Shilluk FJ23

ary between them was a khor called Arepajur, just south of Fashoda. 635
The chief of Debalo Kwom, just to the south of Arepajur, was by virtue of his office the chief of Luak and the chief of the settlement of Golbañ, some five miles north of Arepajur, was by virtue of his office chief of Ger. These two chiefs, with the chiefs of Muomo settlement in the extreme north and Tonga settlement in the south, were the four high chiefs of the Shilluk Kingdom.

This symmetrical arrangement with Fashoda as its focal point 635
may be described as the indigenous system of the Shilluk government. 642
Minor disputes were settled by the settlement chiefs but in major matters government was highly centralised. The high chiefs functioned as the *Reth's* representatives. It seems that they were administrative rather than judicial functionaries and were responsible for sending to Fashoda for the *Reth's* despatch any matter of more than local importance.

THE OLD ORDER CHANGING.

The deposition of *Reth* Kwadhker by the Turkish Government in 177
favour of the puppet Ajang Nyidhok and later the attempt by Akol 635
Kwadhker, during the Mahdia, to usurp the Rethship during the absence in Omdurmân of *Reth* Kur Nyidhok led to civil wars in which the settlements lying to the north of Both espoused successively the causes of Ajang and Kur (both sons of Nyidhok)[27]. As a result the settlements from Both northwards to Kwom, which had previously been a part of Luak, refused to continue so and the boundary between the two provinces thereafter was made to the south of the settlement of Both.

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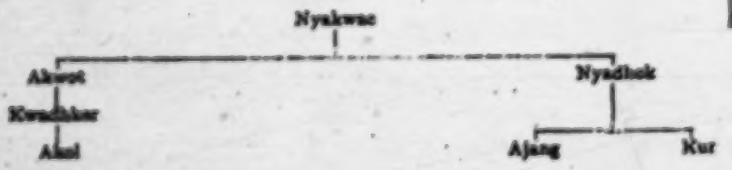
27. A simplified branch of the *Kwar Reth* "tree" may help help to clarify these dynastic struggles: [173]



17: Pumphrey G-5 (1934-1938) 1941
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177 635 This change was the less drastic because by that time the division into Luak and Ger had already lost most of its practical significance. There was then already existing a tendency away from the old and highly centralised regime to one in which power was exercised locally by chiefs of confederacies, a tendency which began when the Turkish Government attempted, after deposing *Reth* Ajang, to govern the tribe without a *Reth* and through locally appointed chiefs and which has since developed as a concomitant of the inevitable disappearance of the *Reth's* arbitary powers. The change of the Luak-Ger boundary had the effect of turning the Chief of Debalo Kwom, who had hitherto been "Chief of Luak," into the chief of the southernmost confederacy of Ger (*i.e.* of the present "Fashoda Division"). He continued nevertheless as the titular Chief of Luak by virtue of being Chief of Debalo Kwom. Recently the chieftainship of Fashoda Division was removed from Debalo Kwom and assumed by the Chief of Lul. An interesting question now is whether the Chief of Fashoda Division or the now subordinate chief of Debalo Kwom is titular Chief of Luak. That this is uncertain is an indication of the emptiness of the title for all practical purposes. It may not be until the *Reth* dies that an answer can be given. Probably the ceremonial functions which appertained to the "Chief of Luak" will be performed by whoever is the chief of Debalo Kwom.

THE GROUPING OF SETTLEMENTS INTO CONFEDERACIES.

177 635 [648] As has been said, the growth of territorial units larger than the settlement began with the Turkish experiment following the deposition of *Reth* Ajang. Use was doubtless then made, as has been made since, of the natural tendency of contiguous settlements to agglomerate, by reason of a common cause or of the existence of outstanding personality, into loose and impermanent confederacies, described by the term *luak*.[28] These confederacies have ever since been bolstered up to form the administrative units now called Divisions.

28. This word *Luak* has thus three meanings:
(1) a building for housing cattle.
(2) The southern province of the kingdom.
(3) An agglomeration of settlements.